# Message Text

#### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MONTEV 01348 01 OF 03 050905Z ACTION ARA-10

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 3 MONTEVIDEO 1348

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINS, SHUM, UY, US

SUBJ: VISIT TO MONTEVIDEO BY MS. PATRICIA DERIAN

REF: MONTEVIDEO 1304 (NOTAL), BUENOS AIRES 2455 (NOTAL)

- 1. SUMMARY. MS. DERIAN SPENT APPROXIMATELY SIX HOURS IN MONTEVIDEO ON APRIL 2. THE VISIT GAVE HER THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE SOMETHING OF MONTEVIDEO AND ITS PEOPLE, TO MEET WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND TO TALK WITH THE AMBASSADOR AND OTHER KEY MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY STAFF. HER VISIT WAS USEFUL UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF US-GOU RELATIONS AND APPRECIATED BY THE EMBASSY.
- 2. FOLLOWING AN INVITATION EXTENDED TO HER BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, ALEJANDRO ROVIRA, AND THE AMBASSADOR, MS. PATRICIA DERIAN, THE DEPARTMENT'S COORDINATOR FOR HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS, ACCOMPANIED BY MR. RONDON OF ARA/ECA, VISITED MONTEVIDEO BRIEFLY ON APRIL 2. CONFIDENTIAL

#### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MONTEV 01348 01 OF 03 050905Z

DURING HER VISIT OF APPROXIMATELY SIX HOURS, MS. DERIAN HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE SOMETHING OF MONTEVIDEO, TO TALK INFORMALLY WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE, AND TO HAVE AN INFORMAL SUPPER AT THE RESIDENCE WITH MEMBERS OF THE EMBASSY STAFF.

3. RATHER THAN REPORT

IN THE FORM OF A MEMORANDUM OF
CONVERSATION, THAT WHICH FOLLOWS IS AN UNCLEARED SUMMARY
OF THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND
MS. DERIAN IN WHICH THE PRINCIPAL POINTS MADE BY EACH ARE
REPORTED SEPARATELY. THE CONVERSATION WAS CONDUCTED IN
AN INFORMAL AND CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER
AND MS. DERIAN EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE OPPORTUNITY
TO MEET AND LEARN MORE ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF THE PROTECTION
OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AS SEEN FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF EACH
COUNTRY

4. THE FOREIGN MINISTER PLACED SUBSTANTIAL EMPHASIS ON THE HISTORIC PROCESS UNDERGONE BY URUGUAY, WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO THE PERIOD OF THE LATE 1960S AND EARLY 1970S WHEN THE GOVERNMENT'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE TUPAMARO SUBVERSIVE AND TERRORIST MOVEMENT WAS AT ITS HEIGHT. THROUGHOUT THE DISCUSSION, THE FOREIGN MINISTER CONTINUED TO STRESS THAT NO ONE WHO HAD NOT BEEN HERE DURING THIS PERIOD COULD UNDERSTAND THE NATURE OF THAT THREAT AGAINST DEMOCRATICALLY ESTABLISHED GOVERNMENT NOR THE PRESENT SITUATION. THE MINISTER DESCRIBED IN SOME DETAIL THE SUBVERSIVE PENETRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE UNIVERSITY. THE TRADE UNIONS, THE POLICE, AND THE JUDICIARY BY THE TUPAMARO AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS. AS A RESULT, NORMAL JUDICIARY PROCESSES WERE UNABLE TO FUNCTION AS LAYED DOWN IN THE CONSTITUTION AND A SITUATION OF ANARCHY, INTIMIDATION AND TERROR PREVAILED. ALL THIS WAS CRYSTALIZED AT A KEY TURNING POINT WHEN FOUR COMMON SOLDIERS WERE BRUTALLY AND WANTONLY MURDERED BY THE TUPAMAROS. HAD THE VICTIMS CONFIDENTIAL.

## CONFIDENTIAL

### PAGE 03 MONTEV 01348 01 OF 03 050905Z

BEEN GENERALS, HE SAID, THE REACTION MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN SO GREAT. BUT REVULSION AGAINST THE MURDER OF SIMPLE COUNTRY BOYS WAS SO GREAT THAT THE PEOPLE DEMANDED EFFECTIVE ACTION AGAINST THE TUPAMAROS. AS A RESULT OF THIS, THE ARMED FORCES, AGAINST THEIR WILL, WERE CALLED IN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PUT DOWN THE TERRORIST ATTACKS. AT THE SAME TIME, CERTAIN LEGAL MEASURES RESTRICTING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS WERE ADOPTED BY PARLIAMENT WITH AN AMPLE MAJORITY. THESE MEASURES ASSISTED THE ARMED FORCES TO COMBAT THE TERRORIST MOVEMENT AND CORRECTED THE PREVIOUSLY EXISTING SITUATION UNDER WHICH THE JUDICIAL BRANCH AND THE POLICE HAD BEEN SO INTIMIDATED THAT LITTLE HEADWAY HAD BEEN MADE AGAINST THE SITUATION OF OPEN WAR.

5. TURNING TO SPECIFIC EXAMPLES, THE MINISTER SAID THAT THE CONSTITUTION PROVIDED FOR THE RIGHT OF A DETAINED PERSON TO OPT FOR EXILE SHOULD HE SO DESIRE. HOWEVER, THE APPLICATION OF THIS MEASURE AT THAT TIME MEANT THAT A DETAINED TERRORIST WOULD LEAVE THE COUNTRY ONE DAY

AND RETURN THE NEXT WITH MACHINE GUN IN HAND READY TO BEGIN AGAIN HIS TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF URUGUAY. THE MINISTER ALSO REFERRED TO THE MITRIONE KILLING, WHICH HAD PRODUCED GENERAL REPUDIATION OF THE TERRORISTS BY THE URUGUAYAN PEOPLE.

6. THE MINISTER SAID THAT THE URUGUAYAN CONSTITUTION PROVIDES AMPLE GUARANTEES WITH RESPECT TO INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES AND IT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TO PROTECT THESE RIGHTS. HOWEVER, HE SAID, THOSE RESTRICTIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE HAVE BEEN NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE SECURITY OF THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE AGAINST A VERY SMALL MINORITY WHICH BELIEVES IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE VERY RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES BEING DISCUSSED. IF THESE MEASURES HAD NOT BEEN TAKEN, THE MINISTER SAID, YOU (MS. DERIAN) WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO CIRCULATE FREELY IN MONTEVIDEO IN A CAR WITH DIPLOMATIC PLATES, THIS HOUSE IN WHICH WE ARE SITTING WOULD NOT EXIST, AND CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MONTEV 01348 01 OF 03 050905Z

YOU AND I WOULD NOT BE HERE TALKING AS WE ARE.

7. THE MINISTER WAS EMPHATIC IN SAYING THAT THE SITUATION HERE WITH RESPECT TO TERRORIST AND COMMUNIST ACTIVITY HAD BEEN CONTROLLED BY WAS BY NO MEANS COMPLETELY DOMINATED. FOR THIS REASON, AND WITH AN EYE TO THE PAST, THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF URUGUAY WERE DETERMINED THAT WHAT HAD HAPPENED WOULD NOT OCCUR AGAIN. AND THE GOVERNMENT BY NECESSITY HAD

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MONTEV 01348 02 OF 03 051306Z ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PRS-01 EUR-12 //066 W

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#### CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 3 MONTEVIDEO 1348

TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL THREATS TO STABILITY. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE MINISTER STRESSED THE PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, NOT ONLY FOR HIS COUNTRY BUT FOR MANY OTHER COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE WORLD. FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID, EVEN THOUGH THE TUPAMARO THREAT HAD BEEN CONTAINED BY 1973, THE OVERALL THREAT CONTINUED AND CAUSED THE GOVERN2 MENT TO MOVE AGAINST THE MILITARY ARM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN LATE 1975 AND EARLY 1976 WITH THE RESULT THAT SUBSTANTIAL QUANTITIES OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS HAD BEEN SEIZED. FURTHER, AND SPEAKING CONFIDENTIALLY, THE MINISTER SAID THAT AFTER THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S HEAD (RODNEY ARISMENDI) HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO LEAVE URUGUAY FOR THE SOVIET UNION, SOME 250 URUGUAYANS HAD GONE TO THE SOVIET UNION CLANDESTINELY FOR MILITARY AND SUGVERSIVE TRAINING. THE MINISTER SAID EVIDENCE EXISTS THAT THEY PLAN TO INFILTRATE BACK INTO THE COUNTRY TO RENEW ARMED CONFLICT. BECAUSE OF THIS AND OTHER FACTORS RELATING TO THE INTERNAL SITUATION, THE MINISTER SAID THAT THE COUNTRY SIMPLY COULD NOT AFFORD TO LET DOWN ITS GUARD AND MUST REMAIN ALERT TO THREATS AGAINST ITS EXISTENCE AS A DEMOCRATIC STATE. CONCERNING THE REPORTED CONFIDENTIAL.

#### CONFIDENTIAL

### PAGE 02 MONTEV 01348 02 OF 03 051306Z

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN URUGUAY, THE MINISTER SAID THAT SOME 56 REPORTED CASES HAD BEEN REFERRED TO THE GOU BY THE IAHRC. OF THESE, THE MINISTER SAID THAT OVER 40 CONCERNED MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND HAD BEEN ANSWERED, SOME 5 OR 6 WERE STILL UNDER REVIEW, AND THAT THE BALANCE, BECAUSE OF INCONSISTENCIES IN THE INFORMATION PASSED TO THE GOU, COULD NOT BE INVESTIGATED.

8. THE MINISTER SAID HE COULD UNDERSTAND, APPRECIATE, AND SHARE THE CONCERN OF THE US WITH RESPECT TO PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. HOWEVER, HE SAID, ONE MUST NOT FORGET OUR LATIN ORIGIN AND HERITAGE, ONE IN WHICH WE ARE PROUD OF OUR RIGHTS AND IN WHICH WE RESENT ANY APPEARANCE OF INTERVENTION IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE MINISTER STRESSED THAT THAT HERITAGE AND THAT POSTURE MUST ALSO CLEARLY BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE US. NEVERTHELESS THE MINISTER SAID, THERE ARE MANY GOVERNMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA WHO ARE FRIENDS AND ALLIES OF THE US AND WISH TO CONTINUE TO BE. HE ADDED THAT A STRONG RESIDUE OF SYMPATHY FOR THE US EXISTS IN URUGUAY. HE SUGGESTED THAT JUST AS HE APPRECIATED MS. DERIAN'S VISIT, HIS GOVERNMENT EQUALLY HOPED THAT MORE PERSONS WOULD COME FROM THE US TO SEE THE

URUGUAYAN REALITY. THESE COULD INCLUDE MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, MEMBERS OF THE PRESS, AS WELL AS GROUPS FROM PRIVATE SECTORS. CONCLUDING, THE MINISTER SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BE MAINTAINED AND THAT LINES OF COMMUNICATION REMAIN OPEN FOR THE PURPOSE OF BEING ABLE TO UNDERSTAND AND APPRECIATE THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN URUGUAY AND THE RESPECTIVE POINTS OF VIEW OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

9. IN HER COMMENTS, MS. DERIAN EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE VISIT TO URUGUAY WAS SO SHORT AND MAINTAINED THAT THE KIND OF DISCUSSION NOW BEING HELD WAS DIFFICULT TO COMPRESS INTO A VERY BRIEF PERIOD OF TIME, BUT RATHER SHOULD BE HELD IN A MORE LEISURELY MANNER OVER A PERIOD CONFIDENTIAL.

#### CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MONTEV 01348 02 OF 03 051306Z

OF SEVERAL DAYS. AS A RESULT, SHE SAID SHE REGRETTED THAT IT WAS ONLY POSSIBLE TO TOUCH THE SURFACE AND TO MAKE GENERAL COMMENTS. SHE SAID THIS APPLIED BOTH TO HER AND TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER.

10. MS DERIAN SAID THAT AS A RESULT OF HER VISIT TO ARGENTINA WHICH WAS A COMPLEX, DIFFICULT, AND UNFORTUNATE SITUATION, AS WELL AS HER VISIT TO MONTEVIDEO, SHE UNDER-STOOD THE PROBLEMS POSED TO GOVERNMENTS AS A CONSEQUENCY OF TERRORIST MOVEMENTS ATTEMPTING TO OVERTHROW ESTABLISHED SYSTEMS. HOWEVER, IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD, AND PARTI-CULARLY UNDER MILITARY GOVERNMENTS FACED WITH SITUATIONS SUCH AS THOSE EXPERIENCED BY ARGENTINA AND URUGUAY, GOVERN-MENTS SEEMED TO BE MAKING THE MISTAKE OF ADOPTING THE SAME REPRESSIVE METHODS AND MEASURES OF THOSE WHOM THEY FOUGHT AGAINST AND THIS SHOULD NOT BE THE CASE. SHE STRESSED THAT THE QUESTION OF THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES WAS A POLICY NOT SIMPLY THAT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE BUT WAS ONE FULLY SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND BY THE USG AS A WHOLE, AND THIS INCLUDED CONGRESS, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE, AND THE TREASURY. OUR POLICIES, SHE SAID, REFLECT OUR FUNDA-MENTAL BELIEFS CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PROTECTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

11. MS. DERIAN SAID THAT SHE WAS HERE TO LEARN AND TO ATTEMPT TO FIND ANSWERS TO SOME VERY DIFFICULT POLICY QUESTIONS WITH WHICH THE US WAS FACED. SHE SAID SHE WAS NOT IN MONTEVIDEO TO ATTEMPT TO OUTLINE WHAT SHOULD BE DONE BY THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT BUT RATHER TO EXPRESS AND EMPHASIZE THE DEEP CONCERN OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS. SHE COMMENTED THAT ONCE A PARTICULAR SITUATION OF INTERNAL SUBVERSION HAS BEEN CONTROLLED, AS HAS BEEN STATED BY THE

URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT ITSELF, THEN EMERGENCY MEASURES RESTRICTING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND RESTRICTING DUE PROCESS OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MONTEV 01348 02 OF 03 051306Z

LAW SHOULD BE RELAXED AND REPLACED BY PREVIOUSLY EXISTING CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS PROTECTING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MONTEV 01348 03 OF 03 042051Z ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 ORM-02 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 PRS-01 EUR-12 //066 W

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 3 OF 3 MONTEVIDEO 1348

12. AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE CONCERN OF THE US, IS THE FACT THAT LEGISLATION HAS BEEN INTRODUCED INTO CONGRESS WITH THE PURPOSE OF RELATING OUR CONCERN ON HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE OPERATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE LEGISLATION IS SIMILAR TO THE AMENDMENT ALREADY EXISTING AFFECTING THE IDB. SHE SAID SHE EXPECTED THAT SOME OF THESE AMENDMENTS RELATING TO US MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE WOULD BE ADOPTED. CONCERNING THE PRESENT SITUATION IN URUGUAY, SHE SAID WE VERY MUCH HOPED TO RECEIVE SOME SIGNAL THAT THERE WAS A RECOGNITION OF OUR FUNDAMENTAL POLICIES RELATING TO HUMAN GTGHTS. THIS SIGNAL, SHE SAID, WOULD INDICATE THAT URUGUAY TOO SHARED AND BELIEVED IN THE CONCEPTS WE HELD RELATING TO THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

13. FINALLY, MS. DERIAN SAID THAT PERHAPS THE US HAD NOT

ALWAYS ACTED WITH THE ELEGANCE AND STYLE THAT WE MIGHT HAVE, BUT WHAT WE HAVE DONE AND SAID REFLECTS OUR DEEP FEELING AND COMMITMENT WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND MUST BE AKEN INTO ACCOUNT BY THE GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MONTEV 01348 03 OF 03 042051Z

14. COMMENT: THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT MS. DERIAN'S VISIT TO MONTEVIDEO, ALTHOUGH BRIEF, WAS HELPFUL AND USEFUL. SHE EXPRESSED IN CLEAR TERMS TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER OUR FUNDAMENTAL BELIEFS IN INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES, AND MADE QUITE CLEAR THAT IT WAS UP TO URUGUAY TO RESPOND AND TAKE CORRECTIVE MEASURES IN THOSE AREAS WHERE PROBLEMS EXIST. MS. DERIAN MADE HER PRESENTATION IN A CLEAR, CONCISE AND COURTEOUS MANNER REFLECTING DEEP CONVICTION COUPLED WITH APPRECIATION FOR THE COMPLEXITY AND DELICACY OF THE MATTER IN WHICH SHE IS DEALING. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, FOR HIS PART, WAS RELAXED AND FRIENDLY IN DEMEANOR. WHILE HE SEEMED TO EVIDENCE UNDERSTANDING OF THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY MS. DERIAN, HE SPOKE HIS OWN PIECE WITH AUTHORITY, FIRMNESS AND CONVICTION AS WELL. ALTHOUGH HE MADE NO COMMITMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE FUTURE, LAYING STRESS AS HE DID ON THE CONTINUING THREAT AS PERCEIVED BY URUGUAY, HE NEVERTHELESS STRESSED THE TEMPORARY NATURE OF THE ABNORMAL SITUATION IN URUGUAY INSOFAR AS PRESENT RESTRICTIONS MIGHT CONFLICT WITH PRE-VIOUSLY EXISTING GUARANTEES. AND REITERATED HIS DESIRE FOR CONTINUED COMMUNICATION AND DAIALOGUE AS WELL AS HIS HOPE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE EMBASSY HAS NO DOUBT THAT MS. DERIAN'S MESSAGE WAS FULLY ABSORBED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND WILL BE COMMUNICATED TO THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF THE GOVERNMENT. IT ALSO CONSIDERS IT IMPORTANT THAT SHE WAS ABLE TO HEAR. AT FIRST HAND, THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S SUMMARY OF THE URUGUAYAN CASE, ITS ATTITUDES AND CONCERNS, AND TO BE ABLE TO GAIN, IF ONLY BRIEFLY, SOME VISUAL APPRECIATION OF THE CITY OF MONTEVIDEO AND ITS PEOPLE. WE ARE GLAD SHE WAS ABLE TO COME. BELIEVE THE VISIT WAS USEFUL FOR BOTH SIDES, AND ONLY WISH SHE COULD HAVE STAYED LONGER AND TALKED TO MORE PEOPLE. SIRACUSA

CONFIDENTIAL

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